

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03  
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SSC-01  
IO-13 EB-08 TRSE-00 OMB-01 /081 W  
-----141704Z 024588 /43

R 141349Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9868  
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
AMCONSUL ZAGREB  
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 1524

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, PINR, YO  
SUBJECT: LEADERSHIP DOINGS

1. SUMMARY: KARDELJ, DOLANC AND (TEMPORARILY) ZAKOVIC,  
SEEM TO FORM TITO'S CURRENT INNER CIRCLE. DOLANC AND  
JURE BILIC APPARENTLY CLASHED OVER PREPARATIONS FOR  
THE ELEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS AND THERE ARE HINTS, BUT  
NO MORE, OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN AND ZARKOVIC AND  
BETWEEN TITO AND BAKARIC. VESELIN DJURANOVIC WILL TAKE  
OVER THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MARCH 15, BUT  
NO MAJOR RESHUFFLE OF THE CABINET IS EXPECTED UNTIL NEXT YEAR.  
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DJURANOVIC IS REPORTED TO BE MORE A THINKER THAN A DOER. END SUMMARY.

2. THE INNER CIRCLE. BRITISH AMBASSADOR BELIEVES  
THAT DECISION TO NAME VESELIN DJURANOVIC TO REPLACE  
THE LATE DZEMAL BIJEDIC AS PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL  
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL WAS TAKEN AT THE MEETING OF TITO,  
LC EXECUTIVE SECRETARY DOLANC, PRESIDENCY MEMBER KARDELJ

AND VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE PRESIDENCY ZARKOVIC AT IGALO FEBRUARY 5, HE SEES THIS GROUP AS THE INNER CIRCLE OF POWER, WITH ZARKOVIC BEING INCLUDED EX OFFICIO. A PRESS PHOTOGRAPH OF THE GROUP PERHAPS SYMBOLIZES THEIR RELATIONSHIP. TITO, KARDELJ AND DOLANC, STAND CLOSELY BUNCHED TOGETHER WITH THE TALLER ZARKOVIC SEPARATED BY A PACE. THE NEWS MAGAZINE NIN IN ITS REPORT OF TITO'S VACATION ON THE COAST DESCRIBES KARDELJ, DOLANC AND ZARKOVIC, IN THAT ORDER, AS "TITO'S CLOSEST COLLABORATORS." ALTHOUGH THIS FORMULATION IS USED FOR OTHER GROUPS AS WELL.

3. KARDELJ. THE AILING KARDELJ WAS NAMED PRESIDENT OF THE PREPARATORY COMMISSION FOR NEXT YEAR'S "CRVENI BARJAK" ("RED BANNER") MEETING, AN ANNUAL EVENT IN KRAGUJEVAC. HE MAY BE ASSIGNED SUCH LARGELY HONORARY DUTIES TO GIVE HIM A PSYCHOLOGICAL LIFT. THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR SAW HIM LAST SEPTEMBER AND COMMENTED THAT HE DID NOT APPEAR TO BE THE MAN HE HAD BEEN BEFORE. A ROMANIAN OBSERVER BELIEVES KARDELJ IS GRADUALLY REDUCING HIS ACTIVITIES. AMERICAN OFFICERS MET WITH KARDELJ IN FEBRUARY. HE SEEMED WEAK, BUT HARDLY MORIBUND. HIS MIND WAS ALERT AND LIVELY. HE WALKED SLOWLY AND WITH A SLIGHT LIMP. HIS VOICE QUAVORED AT TIMES, BUT HIS NECK AND BELLY WERE PUDGY. EMBOFF TRIED TO JUDGE WHETHER HIS ANKLES WERE SWOLLEN, REPUTEDLY AN IMPORTANT DIAGNOSTIC MEASURE, BUT CAN ONLY REPORT THAT HE WAS WEARING BROWN SOCKS AND HAS TWO ANKLES.

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4. BAKARIC AND BILIC. THE ABSENCE OF VLADIMIR BAKARIC FROM THE GROUP AT IGALO MAY WELL HAVE BEEN THE RESULT OF ILL HEALTH, BUT RECENT PUBLIC APPEARANCES ELSEWHERE HAVE BEEN REPORTED. PRESS COVERAGE OF HIS 65TH BIRTHDAY LAST MONTH WAS RELATIVELY LIGHT, AND NO MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS FROM TITO WAS REPORTED, ALTHOUGH THIS COULD HAVE BEEN BECAUSE THE 65TH BIRTHDAY IS NOT CONSIDERED AS IMPORTANT AS THE 60TH. IT IS NOT INCONCEIVABLE THAT BAKARIC MAY HAVE SLIPPED IN TITO'S ESTEEM, POSSIBLY-AND THIS IS JUST SPECULATION-BY SUPPORTING FELLOW CROAT JURE BILIC AGAINST DOLANC. THE BRITISH UNDERSTAND THAT BILIC AND DOLANC DISAGREED SHARPLY OVER PREPARATIONS FOR THE ELEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS AND THAT DOLANC ENDED THE ARGUMENT BY SAYING THAT HE WAS CARRING OUT TITO'S ORDERS. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHAT THE DISPUTE INVOLVED, BUT DOLANC WAS CHOSEN TO CHAIR THE KEY CADRE COMMITTEE, WHICH BILIC, AS SECRETARY FOR ORGANIZATION AND CADRE, HAD A CLAIM TO HEAD.

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5. PARTY ORGANIZATION. BILIC WILL HEAD THE COMMITTEE  
ON ORGANIZATION, WHICH WILL ALSO HAVE AN IMPORTANT ROLE  
BECAUSE CHANGES WILL BE MADE IN THE PARTY STATUTES.  
THE PARTY IS DISCUSSING "ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGES IN THE  
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE", ONE LC MEMBER TELLS US. THE  
BRITISH HAVE HEARD THAT "THE CROATS" ARE PARTICULARLY  
INTERESTED IN THE FORMATION OF A POLITBUREAU. ORGANIZA-  
TIONAL CHANGE AT LOWER LEVELS IS ALSO BEING CONSIDERED.  
A PARTY OFFICIAL IN THE KOSOVO TOLD AN EMBOFF ON A  
FIELD TRIP THAT CHANGES AT THE COMMUNE LEVEL ARE UNDER  
DISCUSSION, BUT HE STRESSED THAT "NOT EVEN DOLANC"  
KNOWS WHAT THE CHANGES WILL BE YET.  
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6. NEW FEC PRESIDENT. VESELIN DJURANOVIC WILL BE FORMALLY ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON MARCH 15. HE HAS THE CONSTITUTIONAL POWER TO SELECT HIS OWN "CABINET", BUT A SOURCE IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TELLS US THAT THE PRESENT COUNCIL WILL BE RETAINED, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF VICE PRESIDENT DOBROSLAV CULAFIC. AS A MONTENEGRIN IT WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE TO KEEP HIM IN OFFICE WHILE ANOTHER MONTENEGRIN, DJURANOVIC, HEADS THE FEC. CULAFIC MAY BE REPLACED BY A BOSNIAN MOSLEM, ACCORDING TO THIS SOURCE, THEREBY RESTORING THE REPRESENTATIVE THE MOSLEMS LOST WHEN BIJEDIC DIED. (MUNIC MESAHOVIC OF THE LC EXEC COMMITTEE IS A POSSIBLE CANDIDATE. HE HAS BEEN GETTING MORE PRESS COVERAGE THAN USUAL AND SPEAKING ABOUT THE ECONOMY.) JAT INCIDENTLY DISCONTINUED SERVICE TO BIJEDIC'S HOME TOWN, MOSTAR, "FOR ECONOMIC REASONS" SHORTLY AFTER HE DIED.) THIS LEGISLATURE STAFFER EXPECTS THE FEC TO KEEP ITS PRESENT COMPOSITION UNTIL EARLY NEXT YEAR, WHEN THOSE WHO ARE NOT GOING TO BE RE-ELECTED WILL RESIGN. HE IMPLIED THAT THEIR REPLACEMENTS WOULD TAKE OFFICE BEFORE THE LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS AND WOULD THEN BE CONFIRMED WHEN THE VOTE TAKES PLACE. A SENIOR ROMANIAN DIPLOMAT ALSO TOLD US THAT HE EXPECTS NO MAJOR CHANGES IN THE GOVERNMENT LINE UP UNTIL NEXT YEAR.

7. DJURANOVIC'S SELECTION. WE HAVE HEARD A NUMBER OF ACCOUNTS OF THE PROCESS BY WHICH DJURANOVIC WAS SELECTED. THE LEGISLATIVE STAFFER MENTIONED ABOVE SAID THAT THE JOB WAS DUE TO GO EITHER TO THE MONTENEGRINS OR MACEDONIANS, AND THE SERBS AND CROATS BOTH FAVORED A MONTENEGRIN, PROBABLY BECAUSE THEY DID NOT LIKE THE MACEDONIAN CANDIDATES. HE DID NOT SAY WHO THOSE CANDIDATES WERE. A YUGOSLAV DIPLOMAT SAID THAT BOTH VICE PRESIDENT ZARKOVIC AND DOLANC HAD BEEN CONFIDENTIAL

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CONSIDERED FOR THE JOB, BUT THAT ZARKOVIC IS SICK AND DOLANC COULD NOT BE SPARED FROM HIS PARTY DUTIES WITH THE ELEVENTH CONGRESS COMING UP. A ROMANIAN DIPLOMAT SAID HE HAD BEEN TOLD BY AN ASSISTANT TO FOREIGN SECRETARY MINIC THAT THE CHOICE HAD NARROWED DOWN TO THREE MONTEGRINS: CULAFIC, ZARKOVIC AND DJURANOVIC. CULAFIC WAS NOT CONSIDERED ABLE ENOUGH. ZARKOVIC WAS CONSIDERED TOO AMBITIOUS AND INDEPENDENT OF THE LC, BUT DJURANOVIC HAD A HISTORY OF PARTY LOYALTY. (COMMENT: THIS VERSION IMPLIES THAT DOLANC SEES A POTENTIAL RIVAL IN ZARKOVIC BUT BELIEVES HE CAN INFLUENCE DJURANOVIC. A HUNGARIAN DIPLOMAT BELIEVES ZARKOVIC MAY BE INVOLVED IN SOME SORT OF CLASH BECAUSE HE IS HEARING COMPLETELY

OPPOSITE OPINIONS ABOUT ZARKOVIC'S ABILITIES FROM  
YUGOSLAV SOURCES IN THE STATE PRESIDENCY.)

8. DJURANOVIC THE MAN. WE HAVE ALSO BEEN HEARING A  
NUMBER OF COMMENTS ABOUT DJURANOVIC'S PERSONALITY. A  
YUGOSLAV JOURNALIST PORTRAYS HIM AS A THINKER RATHER  
THAN A DOER. HE SAYS HE WILL BE LESS ENERGETIC AND  
PERSISTENT THAN BIJEDIC, BUT PROBABLY MORE INTELLIGENT.  
A STAFF MAN FROM THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SAYS DJURANOVIC  
"NEVER DOES ANYTHING IN A HURRY". A FELLOW MONTENEGRIN  
DESCRIBES HIM AS CULTURED AND INTELLIGENT -- A MAN WHO  
ENJOYS READING AND THINKING AND HAS A STRONG SENSE OF  
PERSONAL HONOR. A HUNGARIAN DIPLOMAT IS STRUCK BY  
THE EVEN BALANCE IN HIS SPEECHES; HE CONDEMNS BOTH  
LIBERALS AND DOGMATISTS AND STANDS CLEARLY BEHIND THE  
PARTY LINE. YORK

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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** PINT, PINR, YO, (DOLANC, STANE), (TITO, JOSIP BROZ), (DJURANOVIC, VESELIN)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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